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ABSTRACT

Emphasizing the relationship between adult attitudes and adult attainment, data, collected via personal interview, were obtained from the 3rd wave and the black and white male subset of a 3 wave panel (1966, 1968-69, and 1972) of a study of Southern nonmetropolitan youth. Patterns of congruency and deflection in occupational and educational attitudes and attainment were analyzed for 427 white and 268 black males. The following related phenomena were examined in terms of occupation and education: (1) aspirational levels; (2) expectational levels; (3) attainment levels; (4) the deflection and (6) the deflection between attainment and aspiration. Aspiration and expectation levels for future occupational and educational attainment were apparently "unrealistic" in terms of available opportunities and appeared to be marginal when related to present attainment. Although among the whites the level of these variables somewhat exceeded those found among the blacks, both groups generally were found to have unrealistic and optimistic attitudes. It was hypothesized that unrealistic future orientations can have positive consequences in a success-oriented society for those who are not succeeding, since by projecting future achievements, they do not have to admit failure. (Author/JC)

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Congruency of Attitudes and Status Attainment: Some Observations on Early Adult Behavior in the Non-Metropolitan South

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ABSTRACT

Utilizing data from a study of Southern, non-metropolitan youth, this paper reports the patterns of congruency and deflection in occupational and educational attitudes and attainment. Descriptive comparisons of status aspirations, expectations and attainment were made for 427 white and 268 black males from six Deep South states. Aspirations and expectation levels for future occupational and educational attainment were apparently "unrealistic" in terms of available opportunities and also appeared to be marginal related to present attainment. Although white levels of these variables somewhat exceeded comparable levels for blacks, both groups generally were found to have such unrealistic and optimistic attitudes. A hypothesis was offered where unrealistic future orientations are seen as having positive consequences in a success-oriented society for those who are not succeeding by allowing them to not admit failure by projecting future achievements.

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EARLY PATTERNS OF ADULT STATUS ATTAINMENT AND ATTITUDES IN THE NON-METROPOLITAN SOUTH

THE PROBLEM

Mobility research has recently demonstrated the significance of adolescent attitude levels (specifically, levels of occupational and educational aspirations) as important variables in explaining levels of adult status attainment. Researchers utilizing panel data from Sewell's Wisconsin study, Project Talent and the Explorations in Equality of Opportunity panel report moderate to strong correlations between adolescents' aspirations and later adult attainment (Sewell, Haller and Portes, 1969; Sewell, Haller, and Ohlendorf, 1970; Porter, 1974; Alexander and Eckland, 1973; and Alexander and Eckland, 1974.) Sewell and others (1970) report correlations between levels of educational aspiration measured in high school and adult educational attainment seven years later ranging in magnitude from .65 to .75 for six residential categories. To emphasize the strength of this relationship, adolescent aspirations generally yield higher correlations than such significant influences on attainment as parental status, mental ability, academic performance, and significant other influence. The importance of this relationship exceeds the mere identification of adolescent aspirations as strong correlates of attainment. As Sewell (1971) noted in his presidential address to the American Sociological Association, such social psychological variables as aspirations have substantial impact upon attainment independent of other influences and they also act as mediating or intervening influences that help explain how social origins impact upon attainment.[1]

The focus of this article is not further analysis of the impact of adolescent attitudes upon adult attainment; rather it is concerned with the relationship between adult attitudes and adult attainment. The rationale for this focus is grounded in two considerations. First, an overview of the voluminous literature on youth aspirations and attainment reveals a lack of knowledge and research about either adult aspirations and expectations or their relationship to attainment (See Kuvlesky and Reynold's bibliography, 1970). Second, although there is substantial covariation between adolescent aspirations and adult attainment, the actual levels of aspirations, even for the more disadvantaged groups, appear "unrealistically" high in terms of available opportunities. In a study of approximately 6000 Deep South high school students, about 60% of both black and white youth aspired to professional, technical, managerial, or glamour occupations (Picou and Cosby, 1971). Over 50% of the black youth in this study who came from rural, low SES homes with broken families had such high aspirations. Thus, the following question can be posed: If adolescent attitudes have a substantial effect upon later attainment and yet these same attitudes are often much higher than actual attainment, what happens to these attitudes in the adult period in light of realized lower attainment? In short, what is the relationship between adult attitudes and attainment?

CONCEPTS: ASPIRATIONS, EXPECTATIONS AND ATTAINMENT

The organizing concepts in our descriptive analysis are aspirations, expectations and attainment. The developmentalist, Eli Ginzberg (1951), made an early distinction between "fantasy" and "realistic" choice. He

hypothesized that youth choices about future attainment begin initially as fantasies and then become more realistic in stages coterminous with maturation. Sociologists, extending this framework, have established parallel concepts of idealistic and realistic choice (Haller and Miller, 1963) and aspirations and expectations (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966). Rather than use the Haller and Miller conceptualization, this paper will rely on the formulation of Kuvlesky and Bealer.[2]

Kuvlesky and Bealer delineate three analytical components: (1) a person or persons, (2) having an orientation toward or about (3) a goal or social object. Aspiration refers to the wanting or desiring of a particular social object or goal; in the context of our research, it is the wanting or desiring of an educational or occupational goal. Expectation, on the other hand, refers to the estimation of the likelihood of attaining an occupational or educational goal. The major difference in the two attitudes is that a person may expect to attain a social object that he does not desire. Our third major concept, attainment, refers to the behavioral realization of an occupation or education.

It is possible, indeed probable, that aspirations, expectations, and attainment for a given individual will vary. Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf (1968) termed the incongruency between aspirations and expectations as anticipatory goal deflection (AGD). In the present research we are not only interested in the divergence of aspirations and expectations but, also, the divergence between each of these attitudes and attainment. That is, once an individual has attained a given level of occupational or educational status, he develops aspirations and expectations for future status levels. It is possible that

this new attitude set will diverge from presently attained statuses. Thus, we have two additional types of deflection: aspirational-behavioral deflection (ABD), which refers to the degree that future desires diverge from present attainment; and expectational-behavioral deflection (EBD), which refers to the difference between future expectations and present attainment. In summary, we are interested in six types of related phenomena concerning occupation and education: (1) aspirational levels; (2) expectational levels; (3) attainment levels; (4) the deflection between expectation and aspiration (AGD); (5) the deflection between attainment and expectation (EBD); and (6) the deflection between attainment and aspiration (ABD).

METHOD

The data used in this study were obtained from a three wave panel of Southern, non-metropolitan youth. The initial wave (1966) of the panel consisted of 1228 students who were sophomores in purposively selected high schools throughout Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas. The subsequent waves were conducted in 1968-69 and 1972 by recontacting the same persons having participated in Wave I. In the present analysis, our concern is with the black and white male subset (N=695) and with the third wave (1972), in which most of the panel members were four years beyond their expected completion of high school. The data within this wave were collected primarily by personal interviews. Additionally, mailed questionnaries and telephone interviews were used for a minority (approximately 10%) of the panel members that could not be interviewed by the principle method. Panel attrition was about 15% of the Wave

I - panel and was attributable to out-of-state migration and military service.[3]

DESCRIPTIVE TRENDS

As had been noted earlier, occupational and educational goals expressed by adolescents often have been judged unrealistic in terms of probable attainment. Many adolescents express aspirations and expectations that in the aggregate cannot reasonably be expected to reflect future attainment opportunities. An examination of the data reported in Table 1 reveals a similar pattern for young adults. This finding was observed for future orientations toward both occupational and educational status. For example, over 50% of the black and white respondents aspired to professional, technical, or managerial positions. At the same time, about 65% aspired to college and graduate levels of educational status. Although the percentages are of less magnitude, expectations for attainment generally followed this unrealistic pattern. In making this judgement regarding unrealistic choice, two considerations are made explicit. First, our data was obtained from a population of non-metropolitan, Southern adults who can be characterized as experiencing low levels of occupational and educational attainment. Second, the aspirational and expectational levels can be compared to the actual early attainment which is also reported in Table 1. In making this comparison for occupations, aspirational and expectational choices tended to be clustered around professional, technical and managerial occupations; whereas actual attainment tended to be concentrated in skilled, semi-skilled and labor occupations. These post facto observations are difficult to reconcile with such formulations as Ginzberg's concepts of

early adult realistic and crystallized choice. It is clear that many of these aspirations and expectations were unrealistic, if we mean by realistic choice even a moderate congruency between expressed choices and attainment or even future attainment. One could argue that it would be just as reasonable to characterize these patterns as idealistic, or perhaps fantasy-like choices.

[Table 1 about here]

There was a consistent pattern observed between levels of aspirations, expectations and attainment for both occupational and educational statuses. In the aggregate, levels of aspirations exceeded levels of expectations which, in turn, exceeded levels of attainment. This pattern held for both black and white subpopulations. It is illustrative to detail the percentages for the professional-technical category--for blacks 37% aspired, 24% expected and only 1.6% had attained a professional or technical occupation. Although the levels were somewhat higher, whites exhibited a similar pattern--48% aspired, 30% expected, and 10% had attained such occupations. Percentages for educational responses revealed similar relationships. With college completion the status-object of preference, we find that among blacks about 65% aspired, 37% expected, and 5% had attained college degrees or greater. Similar estimates for whites were 70% aspiring, 50% expecting, and 14% having attained higher levels of education. A cautionary note should be interjected in that attainment refers only to completed education levels and not to the level or educational program that the respondents may have been pursuing at the time that the data was collected. About 8% of the blacks and 14% of the whites were still enrolled in some form

of educational program when interviewed, and thus ultimate levels of educational attainment would increase somewhat over those observed in our third-wave data. Even with this additional attainment, however, both aspirations and expectations would still surpass attainment.

Another major pattern was for black aspirations, expectations and attainments to be less than the comparable levels for whites. The only exception to this pattern was in the percentages aspiring to higher levels of education where both the blacks and whites gave approximately the same high choices. A cursory examination (Table 1) might suggest that the black-white differences are roughly distributed at about the same level for aspirations, expectations, and attainments. For example, the differences with regards to professional-technical occupations were 10.8% for aspirations, 6% for expectations and 8.4% for attainment with whites having higher levels in each case. The raw percentages tend to conceal what we feel are very large differences in attainment versus differences in attitudes. If we introduce an adjustment for parity between the two sets of racial percentages, it becomes obvious that the attainment differences are much greater. By parity, we mean, what percentage increases would blacks have to experience in order to bring their attitudinal and attainment patterns on par with whites? White aspirations for professional-technical positions were 129% of similar black aspirations; white expectations 125% of black expectations and white attainment 625% of black attainments. This means that in order for blacks to obtain parity with whites there would have to be roughly a 25% increase in those holding such attitudes; whereas, for attainment, an increase of 525% would be required. Making similar adjust-

ments for college level educational responses also results in large racial discrepancies on attainment.[4]

In Table 2, we move from the description of aggregate levels of aspirations, expectations and attainment to the individual level question of the congruency between the three types of measures. Three types of deflection are utilized: AGD (Exp. minus Asp.); EBD (Att. minus Exp.); ABD (Att. minus Asp.).[5] AGD will be examined first. Previous research on high school students in Washington (Slocum, 1956), North Carolina (Nunalee and Drabick, 1956), and Texas (kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1968) has reported deflections between occupational expectations and aspirations in the range of 30% to 50%. In our young adult data, similar numbers of both blacks and whites experienced AGD. About 50% of the blacks and 42% of the whites expected to attain occupations other than those to which they aspired. AGD was less pronounced for educational statuses. Only 35% of the blacks and 29% of the whites expected less education than they desired. These findings suggest three possibilities. First, the extent of AGD for young adults was not too different from that expressed by adolescents. Second, AGD for occupation exceeds that for education reflecting a possible perception of educational attainment being a more open, realizable goal than high occupational attainment. Third, more blacks experience AGD than whites, thus suggesting a greater perception among blacks of influences that impede the attainment of aspired goals.

[Table 2 about here]

Whereas AGD as a measure of deflection was based on a comparison between future oriented aspirations and expectations, our second and third measures of deflection, EBD and ABD, are grounded in current attainment. They are measures of what the individual wants or expects in terms of his current occupational and educational statuses. We know of no other study that has reported data for these measures which can be used as a point of reference. In our data the extent of both EBD and ABD greatly exceed the deflection between expectations and aspirations (AGD). Taking EBD first, we find that 65% of both blacks and whites expected the future attainment of occupations contrary to those currently held and that the majority anticipated higher status jobs as indicated by the extent of negative deflection (Table 2). In contrast to the occupational similarities, EBD for education revealed strong racial differences. About 75% of the blacks and 58% of the whites expected additional educational training. The rather large percentages obtained for educational EBD are of particular interest since our respondents were already four years out of high school and only about 8% of the blacks and 14% of the whites (Table 1) were currently classified as students. This indicates that expectations about future educational attainment are largely "unrealistic" unless there is going to be a mass return of these young adults to school.

Our third measure of deflection, ABD, is an indicator of the extent that aspirations for future attainment are grounded in present statuses. The greatest amount of deflection for both occupation and education was observed for ABD. Approximately 84% of the blacks and 80% of the whites desired different occupations (usually of higher status) than they presently

held. For educational statuses, we find the same pattern in racial differences observed for occupational ABD. Around 87% of the blacks and 86% of the whites wanted additional education, thus supporting our earlier observation that future orientations are at best loosely grounded in present attainment.

DISCUSSION

In Robin Williams' (1951) discussion of major value orientations in American society, he begins with the thesis that American culture "is marked by a central stress upon personal achievement especially secular occupational achievement" (p. 417). Our non-metropolitan data depicts a population of largely disadvantaged, young males who generally hold such values. Aspirational and expectational responses for future attainment were predominately high level occupational and educational responses, suggesting a pervasive future orientation toward high level achievement. Although there were notable racial differences observed, both black and white groups could be characterized by such high success values. The most striking overall observation was the maintenance by young adults of high level orientations in light of current low status attainment levels. Occupational aspirations and expectations clustered around professional-technical-managerial positions while actual attainment clustered in the semi-skilled and skilled jobs. Similarly, educational attitudes were oriented toward college and professional degrees, whereas attainment was predominantly at the high school level.

In initiating this article, we had focused on aspirations and expectations in large part because of the important role they apparently play in status attainment processes as demonstrated by Sewell and others. That is, adolescent attitudes have an important effect on adult attainment. Yet,

we find that the attitude levels differ considerably from levels of attainment in our adult data. Deflection between attainment and aspirations was in the 75% to 87% range, indicating such attitudes expressed were very poor predictors of the actual level of attainment. How can these two different observations be reconciled? One hypothesis, that we favor, differentiates between levels of attitudes and attainment on the one hand and variations in attitudes and attainment on the other. The covariation between attitudinal choices of those youth who aspire to high goals and their subsequent attainment of high, although not necessarily the same, goals could produce the correlations reported in status attainment research. Correlations do not reveal information about the actual agreement of levels between two variables, rather they refer to the degree of correspondence between two distributions. The significance of high aspirations, then, is not that youth who aspire to high goals would attain that exact goal, but rather that they would tend to attain a higher level than those who aspired to lesser goals. By distinguishing between levels and distributions of attitudinal and attainment responses we were able to reconcile, at least hypothetically, certain observations in our data and the general thrust of status attainment research. Another problem still persists. How or why should these young adults maintain such apparently unrealistic future orientations? Their aspirations and expectations were only loosely grounded in present attainment. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine a change in the occupational and educational structure in the Deep South region (where a good many of the adult panel still reside) that would allow for the high levels of attainment either aspired to or expected by this group.

Two intriguing possibilities might explain this sharp divergence between attitudes and behavior. Developmentalists, such as Ginzberg, have formulated the orderly progression of choice development where the youth moves successively through fantasy, tentative and realistic stages. In this case, the youth is in the realistic stage during post-adolescence. It could be that the developmental principles still hold but that the period of increasing realism is out of phase and mis-identified. We might hypothesize that within this restructured developmentalist approach a period of tentative or even fantasy-like choices extends into adulthood. Therefore, the period of realistic choice has not yet occurred, thus explaining the high level responses we obtained in our sample of 22-year-old adults. The period of realistic choice may not occur until the completion of college, vocational school or the actual entering into the labor force.

The second hypothesis suggests a completely different formulation that is largely inconsistent with the developmental model. Just as the variation in aspirations among youth have important consequences for attainment, the expression of high level choices may also have useful aspects. While the actual level may have little bearing on goal-directed behavior or attainment, high aspirations and expectations may constitute a psychological crutch that to some degree compensates for socially defined failure. The laborer in a low prestige job with little or no opportunity can adjust to the high societal success values by projecting success into the future as reflected in aspirations and expectations. Past and present set-backs and the failure to meet past desires and plans can be accepted by substituting new future-oriented projections. In short, if realistic choice refers to a choice that corresponds to attainment, it may be of too high a psychological cost for most youth, as well as running counter to American cultural success values.

NOTES

[1]Sewell states that the model formed by SES, academic ability and intervening social psychological variables (high school performance, significant others' influence, and occupational and educational aspirations) explains "over 55% of the variance in higher educational attainment..." He continues that 38% of SES effects upon educational attainment is "mediated by occupational and educational aspirations"(p. 799).

[2]Haller and his associates maintain that the idealistic-realistic aspects of occupational aspirations are so bound together, at least during adolescence, that they constitute a single dimension level of occupational aspiration. Their conclusion was based on an analysis of responses to the idealistic and realistic items of the Occupational Aspiration Scale (Haller et al., 1974) administered to over thirty-four thousand high school students. Their analysis of the factor structure of the items resulted in a dominant factor identified as LOA, which saturated the idealistic and realistic items. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the idealistic-realistic aspect constitues a single dimension during later adult stages. Based on a personal conversation with Haller, he feels that the distinction between idealistic-realistic or aspirational-expectational responses may be of more significance during adult stages when attitudes and attainment become intertwined.

[3]Occupational aspiration was determined by asking the question, "If you were completely free to choose a job, what would you most desire as a lifetime job?" Similarly, occupational expectation was determined by asking, "Some times we are not always able to do what we want most. What kind of job do you really expect to have most of your life?" And occupational attainment was ascertained by asking, "What job or occupation did you hold on May 1, 1972?" The responses to each of these questions were coded according to a modified version of the Alba Edwards occupational scale (1943). The scale categories are as follows: (1) unemployed, (2) student, (3) labor, (4) semi-skilled, (5) skilled, (6) sales-clerk, (7) managerial, and (8) professional-technical.

Whereas occupational attitude and behavior questions were open-ended, educational questions were accompanied with fixed-choice responses that ranged from "some high school" to "graduate with a Ph.D." With this response set, educational aspiration was determined by asking, "If you could have as much schooling as you desired, which of the following would you do? (circle only one number)" Likewise, education expectation was concluded by asking, "What do you <u>really expect</u> to do about your education? (circle only one number)" And educational attainment was established by asking, "What is the highest degree or educational program you have completed?" The fixed-choice responses to each of these questions were further collapsed into a six-point educational scale. The scale utilized is as follows: (1) some high school, (2) high school, (3) trade/business,

military, commercial or vocation-technical programs, (4) junior college (5) graduate from 4 year college, and (6) graduate or professional degree.

Deflection in attainment and/or attitudes is determined by using the occupational and educational scales. AGD for either the occupational or educational variable is its expectational scale response minus the aspirational scale response. An example of "occupational AGD" would be as follows: 4 (expected, semi-skilled) -7 (aspired, managerial) =3. Behavioral deflection, on the other hand, is the attainment scale response minus the attitudinal scale response. This appears for "educational ABD" as: 3 (attained, trade, etc. program) - 6 (aspired, professional degree) = -3. The sign of the difference denotes the direction of deflection; while the difference itself is the magnitude of deflection, which is used in the computations of the statistical mean of deflection.

[4]In comparing attitudes and attainments for such status objects as high level occupations and education, the use of raw percentages can lead to difficulties in interpretations. For example, aspirations and expectations for such positions are relatively common responses yielding large percentage estimates. Whereas, attainment percentages, especially among disadvantaged populations, will usually be much smaller and be in the 10% or less range. In making comparisons it is thus impossible to get raw attainment differences between races of larger than 10%. To illustrate, if 10% of the whites had attained professional technical positions and none of the black attained such occupations, there would be a raw difference estimate of only 10%, which conceals the extremely higher levels of attainments being experienced by whites. Furthermore, we would maintain that this is in no way comparable to a 10% difference in aspirations between races where 48% of whites and 38% of blacks aspire to these occupational positions. Thus, we have introduced the notion of parity as an adjustment to aid in the interpretation of racial differences. Numerically, parity is being defined as the ratio of white percentages to black percentages for each comparable aspirational, expectational, and attainment category.

[5]In Table 2, deflection has been delineated further into negative and positive types. Negative deflection refers to aspirations exceeding expectations for AGD and attitudes excedding attainment for EBD and ABD. Positive deflection refers to the situation where the converse is apparently the case. Studies of AGD (Slocum, 1956; Nunalee and Drabick, 1965; and Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1968) as well as our study report aspirations that are lower in "scale" values than expectations for small numbers of respondents. Substantively this means that some respondents prefer an occupational status that is of lower status (as measured by researchers) than they expect or actually attain. On a conjectural basis this can be attributed to such factors as (1) respondent's recognition of his conforming to external pressures for attainment that surpass his desires (2) the divergence between an individual's perception of occupational and educational hierarchies and the hierarchies used by researchers to measure deflection, and (3) the errors associated with the

measurement and classification of occupation and education. As a concrete example, we have in our data set respondents who apparently want less education than they presently have. This is an anomaly of our coding whereby someone who dropped out of high school but completed a vocational trade program would receive an attainment code of 3; and yet this some individual might aspire to completing a high school degree which would receive a lower code of 2.

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TABLE 1: Percent Occupational and Educational Aspirations, Expectations and Attainment for Black and White Males Four Years After Expected High School Graduation.

	Blacks (N=268)			Whites (N=427)		
	Aspirations	Expectations	Attainment	Aspirations	Expectations	Attainment
Occupation[a]						
Unemployed	- -	- -	0.4	- -	- -	1.7
Student	- -	- -	7.7	- -	- -	13.6
Labor	2.3	7.7	21.6	0.0	3.6	9.3
Semi-skilled	9.1	29.5	35.5	5.5	4.0	21.4
Skilled	25.0	21.7	22.0	14.0	27.9	25.7
Sales-Clerk	10.6	6.2	9.7	4.3	6.8	9.5
Managerial	15.9	10.5	1.5	28.3	27.3	8.8
Professional-Technical	37.1	24.4	1.6	47.9	30.4	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Education[b]						
Some High School	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0	1.0	2.6
High School	3.8	8.8	61.7	3.8	16.5	56.4
Trade, Bus., Commercial or Vo-Tech. Program[c]	25.9	46.0	26.1	22.6	27.9	18.7
Junior College	4.9	8.0	3.8	3.8	4.5	8.8
Graduate from 4 yr. college	18.4	16.7	4.6	22.1	28.6	13.5
Graduate or Profess. Degree	47.0	20.5	0.0	47.7	21.5	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[a]No information for 4,10,9 Blacks and 7,13,7 Whites respectively across aspirations, expectations and attainment. These respondents were omitted from the percent computations.

[b]No information for 2,5,4 Blacks and 3,8,5 Whites respectively across aspirations, expectations and attainment. These respondents were omitted from the percent computations.

[c]Attainment figures include trade, business and technical training that is also acquired in the military.

TABLE 2: Frequency and Percentage of Individuals Experiencing Anticipatory and Behavioral Deflection

	Blacks						Whites					
	(AGD) Exp. - Asp.		(EBD) Att. - Exp.		(ABD) Att. - Asp.		(AGD) Exp. - Asp.		(EBD) Att. - Exp.		(ABD) Att. - Asp.	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Occupation												
Zero (0)	126	49.6	89	35.2	41	15.8	239	58.4	144	35.0	82	19.6
Negative (-)	100	39.4	149	58.9	208	80.0	133	32.5	244	59.2	324	77.5
Positive (+)	28	11.0	15	5.9	11	4.2	37	9.0	24	5.8	12	2.9
Total[a]	254	100.0	253	100.0	260	100.0	409	99.9[b]	412	100.0	418	100.0
Mean[c]	-0.67		-1.86		-2.64		-0.61		-2.18		-2.84	
Education												
Zero (0)	168	64.1	65	25.1	33	12.6	291	69.8	174	41.9	99	23.6
Negative (-)	92	35.1	191	73.7	226	86.3	119	28.5	236	56.9	317	75.5
Positive (+)	2	0.8	3	1.2	3	1.1	7	1.7	5	1.2	4	1.0
Total[a]	262	100.0	259	100.0	262	100.0	417	100.0	415	100.0	420	100.1[b]
Mean[c]	-0.60		-1.30		-1.88		-0.53		-1.12		-1.65	

[a]The N for each race was Black - 268 and White - 427. The totals shown reflect the number of respondents for which complete information was available for each respective deflection.

[b]Errors due to rounding.

[c]Mean deflections were calculated by the following formula: $\bar{X}_f = \frac{\Sigma X_f f_f}{N_f}$

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